

ON THE SURVEILLANCE OF BLACKNESS

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COVER ART: Robin Rhode (South African, born 1976), Pan's Opticon, 2008. Photographs, fifteen C-prints face-mounted on four-ply museum board. Photos courtesy of Lehmann Maupin.

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necessary counternarratives that challenged a claimant's stated timeline. I take up this transcript further below. For now, two interlocking questions emerge: First, how are we to read the historical record of these hearings given the context in which they were written, where humans owned other humans? Second, how do we grapple with the textual meaning itself, given that the record of these hearings is composed not of verbatim transcripts but of records of proceedings and decisions rendered almost noneventful in their brevity, and that are only partial accounts meant to be put to later use in the service of Patriots for claims of injury, losses of property, and compensation? By situating the Board of Inquiry hearings at Fraunces Tavern as moments of repossession, what I am arguing for here is a mapping of Fraunces Tavern as a space where black women, black men, and black children challenged un-visibility through contestations for freedom and mobility that were simultaneously demands for recognition not as property, but as full subjects, as humans. For Mercy, the so-called negroe wench, and her children, in the end Fraunces Tavern was a space for the making of her and her children as disposable ("to be disposed of as he may think proper"). They were sentenced to a life back in slavery. In the section that follows, I take up eighteenth-century lantern laws to question how black luminosity as a means of regulating mobility was legislated and also contested. I do this to historicize the surveillance of black life in New York City.

Torches, Torture, and Totau: Lantern Laws in New York City

I am truly a drop of sun under the earth.
—FRANTZ FANON, Black Skin, White Masks

"Moment by moment" is the experience of surveillance in urban life, as David Lyon observes, where the city dweller expects to be "constantly illuminated." It is how the city dweller contends with this expectation that is instructive. To examine closely the performance of freedom, a performative practice, I suggest, that those named fugitive in the Board of Inquiry arbitration hearings at Fraunces Tavern made use of, I borrow political theorist Richard Iton's "visual surplus" and its B side, "performative sensibility." What Iton suggests is that we come to internalize an expectation of the potential of being watched and with this emerges a certain "performa-

tive sensibility." Coupled with this awareness of an overseeing surveillance apparatus is "the conscious effort to always give one's best performance and encourage others to do the same, and indeed to perform even when one is not sure of one's audience (or whether there is in fact an audience)."33 Iton employs the term "visual surplus" to think about the visual media of black popular culture (graffiti, music videos) made increasingly available to the public through the rise of hip-hop in the five boroughs of New York City in the 1970s and the uses of new technologies (cellular phones, handheld cameras, the Internet, DVDs) to record and distribute performances. Applied to a different temporal location, Iton's analyses of visual surplus and performative sensibility are useful for how we think about fugitive acts, black expressive practices, and the regulation of black mobilities in colonial New York City two hundred years earlier. What I am suggesting is that for the fugitive in eighteenth-century New York, such a sensibility would encourage one to perform—in this case perform freedom—even when one was not sure of one's audience. Put differently, these performances of freedom were refusals of dispossession, constituting the black subject not as slave or fugitive nor commodity, but as human. For the black subject, the potentiality of being under watch was a cumulative effect of the large-scale surveillance apparatus in colonial New York City and beyond, stemming from transatlantic slavery, specifically fugitive slave posters and print news advertisements, slave catchers and other freelancers who kidnapped free black people to transport them to other sites to be enslaved, and the passing of repressive black codes, such as those in response to the slave insurrection of 1712.

April 1712 saw an armed insurrection in New York City, when over two dozen black slaves gathered in the densely populated East Ward of the city to set fire to a building, killing at least nine whites and wounding others. In the end, over seventy were arrested, with many coerced into admissions of guilt. Of those, twenty-five were sentenced to death and twenty-three of these death sentences were carried out. Burned at the stake, hanged, beheaded, and their corpses publicly displayed and left to decompose, such spectacular corporal punishment served as a warning for the city's slave population and beyond. With these events and the so-called slave conspiracy to burn the city in 1741, the codes governing black city life consolidated previously enacted laws that were enforced in a rather discretionary fashion. Here black city life is understood as being intricately tied with Indian city life, as laws regulated the mobility of both Negro and Indian

slaves.³⁴ On Sundays, for example, it was forbidden for three or more enslaved people to gather to play sports or make loud noises. Some of these laws spoke explicitly to the notion of a visual surplus and the regulation of mobility by way of the candle lantern. In March 1713, the Common Council of New York City passed a "Law for Regulating Negro & Indian Slaves in the Nighttime" that declared, "no Negro or Indian Slave above the age of fourteen years do presume to be or appear in any of the streets" of New York City "on the south side of the fresh water in the night time above one hour after sun sett without a lanthorn and a lighted candle."35 "Fresh water" here refers to the Fresh Water Pond found in lower Manhattan, slightly adjacent to the Negroes Burial Ground, which supplied the city with drinking water at the time. Other laws put into place around light, lanterns, and black mobilities in New York City stipulated that at least one lantern must be carried per three Negroes after sunset and regulated curfews more tightly. In 1722, the Common Council relegated burials by free and enslaved blacks to the daytime hours with attendance of no more than twelve, plus the necessary pallbearers and gravediggers, as a means to reduce opportunities for assembly and to curtail conspiracy hatching.³⁶ Again, this law regulating mobility and autonomy through the use of the technology of the candle lantern was amended in April 1731 with "A Law for Regulating Negro's & Slaves in Night Time," where "no Negro, Mulatto or Indian slave above the age of fourteen years" unless in the company of "some white person or white servant belonging to the family whose slave he or she is, or in whose service he or she then are" was to be without a lantern lit so that it could be plainly seen and where failure to carry such a lantern meant that it was then "lawful for any of his Majesty's Subjects within the said City to apprehend such slave or slaves" and "carry him, her or them before the Mayor or Recorder or any of the Aldermen of the said City who are hereby authorized upon proof of offense to commit such slave or slaves to the Common Gaol."37 That fire (candle lantern) was employed to deter fire (burning the city down) is not without irony.

Lantern laws made the lit candle a supervisory device—any unattended slave was mandated to carry one—and part of the legal framework that marked black, mixed-race, and indigenous people as security risks in need of supervision after dark. In this way the lit candle, in a panoptic fashion, sought to "extend to the night the security of the day." Any slave convicted of being unlit after dark was sentenced to a public whipping of no more than forty lashes, at the discretion of the master or owner, before being dis-

charged. Later this punishment was reduced to no more than fifteen lashes. Such discretionary violence made for an imprecise mathematics of torture.

Mostly, punishment for such transgressions was taken into the hands of the slave owner. In 1734, a male slave of John van Zandt was found dead in his bed. The dead man was said to have "absented himself" from van Zandt's dwelling in the nighttime. His Although it was first reported that this slave was horsewhipped to death by van Zandt for being caught on the streets after dark by watchmen, a coroner's jury found van Zandt not negligent in this death, finding instead that "the correction given by the Master was not the cause of death, but that it was by the visitation of God." In recounting physician Alexander Hamilton's narrative about his travels through New York City in July 1744, Andy Doolen details that one outcome of the alleged conspiracy of 1741 was the ruining, according to Hamilton, of the traditional English cup of tea. It was thought by Hamilton that

they have very bad water in the city, most of it being hard and brackish. Ever since the negroe conspiracy, certain people have been appointed to sell water in the streets, which they carry on a sledge in great casks and bring it from the best springs about the city, for it was when the negroes went for tea water that they held their caballs and consultations, and therefor they have a law now that no negroe shall be seen upon the streets without a lanthorn after dark.⁴¹

We can think of the lantern as a prosthesis made mandatory after dark, a technology that made it possible for the black body to be constantly illuminated from dusk to dawn, made knowable, locatable, and contained within the city. The black body, technologically enhanced by way of a simple device made for a visual surplus where technology met surveillance, made the business of tea a white enterprise and encoded white supremacy, as well as black luminosity, in law. In situating lantern laws as a supervisory device that sought to render those who could be, or were always and already, criminalized by this legal framework as outside of the category of the human and as un-visible, my intent is not to reify Western notions of "the human," but to say here that the candle lantern as a form of knowledge production about the black, indigenous, and mixed-race subject was part of the project of a racializing surveillance and became one of the ways that, to cite McKittrick, "Man comes to represent the only viable expression of humanness, in effect, overrepresenting itself discursively and empirically," and, I would add, technologically.⁴² With these lantern laws in place and

overrepresented Man needing no candle to walk after dark, these laws, then, were overrepresenting Man as the human.

When the lantern laws were again amended on March 2, 1784, it was not without public condemnation. With the amendment of this lantern law concerning "negroe & molatto slaves" also came the passing of laws against assembly, the carrying of weapons, riding on horseback through the city by "trotting fast" or in some other disorderly fashion, gaming, and gambling, along with other regulations to the racialized body in the city.⁴³ An excerpt of a letter published in the New York Journal and State Gazette questioned "the cruelty and inconsistency" in the laws that governed slave life. 44 Writing about the vagueness of the clause on being caught out in the street at an "unreasonable hour," the unnamed author questioned a law that allowed "a white drunkard" to "disturb the street til midnight, with impunity; when a poor black girl of fifteen if a gale of wind unfortunately extinguishes the candle in the lanthorn, is hurried to gaol, and next morning ignominiously scourged in public." This letter writer provided readers with a hypothetical: what if an enslaved person were to travel by horseback through the city on a Sunday in search of a doctor for a master that had fallen ill? If this said slave finds himself in the street when "the Chappel announces the fatal nine" and is without a lit candle and lantern and cannot "procure a light, or [is] so unguarded to unlock his lips (for he must not make a noise) or so forgetful as to have his whip in his hand (for it is a weapon) a prison or flagellation is his position and his master may perish for want of assistance." The unnamed writer wondered "what the framers of the part of the law thought negro slaves were made of, when they interdicted almost everything which constituted a rational being: laugh, weep or speak, they certainly must not, for that is making a noise and almost every other action in common life; that is not sheer labor maybe constituted into sport or play. Happy would it be for the poor wretches, if by law, you could deprive them of reflection." Of course, unsupervised leisure, labor, laughter, travel, assembly, and other forms of social networking past sunset by free and enslaved black New Yorkers continued regardless of the enforcement of codes meant to curtail such things.

Oftentimes social networking by free and enslaved black New Yorkers took place right under the surveillant gazes of the white population, in markets and during Sabbath and holiday celebrations. In these spaces of sometimes interracial and cross-class commerce and socializing, black performative practices of drumming, dancing, and chanting persisted. Just

as Frantz Fanon writes in *The Wretched of the Earth* that "the dance circle is a permissive circle," in that it "protects and it empowers," in New York City performative practices engaged in by black people empowered.⁴⁵ For instance, during celebrations of Pinkster marking the feast of Pentecost in the Dutch Reformed Church, free and enslaved blacks elected a governor who would serve as a symbolic leader resolving disputes and collecting monetary tribute, making this holiday an event for white spectatorship of black cultural, economic, and political production, although for many such celebratory resistance made this "a festival of misrule." The Common Council of Albany, New York, banned Pinkster celebrations in 1811, for reasons including a resentment of the space that it opened up for unsettling exchanges between blacks and whites.⁴⁷

The most controversial incorporation of black performativity into Pinkster was the Totau. On the Totau, Marvin McAllister writes, "A man and a woman shuffle back and forth inside a ring, dancing precariously close without touching and isolating most of their sensual movement in the hip and pelvic areas. Once the couple dances to exhaustion, a fresh pair from the ring of clapping dancers relieves them and the Totau continues." That such a performative sensibility was engaged in by black subjects in colonial New York City approximately two hundred years before the emergence of hip-hop in the Bronx is of much significance. The Totau and, later, the Catharine Market breakdown reverberate in the cypher of b-boys and b-girls. In Eric Lott's discussion of black performances, he cites Thomas De Voe's eyewitness account of the Catharine Market breakdown in mid-nineteenth-century New York City:

This board was usually about five to six feet long, of large width, with its particular spring in it, and to keep it in its place while dancing on it, it was held down by one on each end. Their music or time was usually given by one of their party, which was done by beating their hands on the sides of their legs and the noise of the heel. The favorite dancing place was a cleared spot on the east side of the fish market in front of Burnel Brown's Ship Chandlery.⁴⁹

In this instance, the breakdown is performed in a market, allowing for white spectatorship and patronage in a space that is already overdetermined as a site of commerce within the economy of slavery. Later, De Voe was quoted in an 1889 *New York Times* article about the decline of Catharine Market. Recalling from decades earlier the "public negro dances" during Pinkster,

he described the various ways the dancers would adorn their hair, and he is quoted as saying that the dancers "would bring roots, berries, birds, fish, clams, oysters, flowers, and anything else they could gather and sell in the market to supply themselves with pocket money."50 Sylvia Wynter's "provision ground ideology" is instructive here for an understanding of solidarity, survival, and the role of folk culture as resistance to the "dehumanization of Man and Nature."51 Provision ground ideology names the slave's relationship to the Earth as one concerning sustenance through the growing of produce for survival, rather than that harvested for the profit of the plantation. Where the "official ideology," that of the plantation, as Wynter explains, "would develop as an ideology of *property*, and the rights of property, the provision ground ideology would remain based on a man's relation to the Earth, which linked man to his community."52 The idea of Earth here is not one of property or of land, but of the formation of community through spatial practices "concerned with the common good."53 Out of the provision grounds came the cultivation of ceremonial practices, including dance, that were, as Wynter tells us, "the cultural guerilla resistance against the Market economy."54 For Wynter, dance is one form of ceremonial observance by which the black subject "rehumanized Nature, and helped to save his own humanity against the constant onslaught of the plantation system by the creation of a folklore and a folk-culture."55 Here we see the centrality of folk practices, including dance, to the "emancipatory breaching" necessary for a liberatory remaking of humanness.⁵⁶ The remains of the Catharine Market breakdown can be found, I suggest, in the cardboard, turntables, b-girls, and b-boys of the breakdancing cypher.

What I have outlined here, and argue in the chapters that follow, is that then and now, cultural production, expressive acts, and everyday practices offer moments of living with, refusals, and alternatives to routinized, racializing surveillance. In so being, they allow for us to think differently about the predicaments, policies, and performances constituting surveillance. The predicaments: colonial New York City was a space of both terror and promise for black life. The policies: lantern laws, fugitive slave notices, public whippings, and the discretionary uses of violence by "his Majesty's subjects" rendered the black subject as always and already unfree. The performances: acts, like the breakdown, that were constitutive of black freedom still persisted even under routinized surveillance and violence at the hands of his Majesty's subjects. It is within this context, where certain humans came to be understood by many as unfree and the property of others

while at the same time creating practices that maintained their humanity by challenging the routinization of surveillance, that we should read the 1783 Board of Inquiry hearings at Fraunces Tavern.

Of Property and Passports: The Board of Inquiry Hearings at Fraunces Tavern

What began as a meeting between Generals Carleton and Washington on the point of Article Seven in the provisional peace treaty regarding "Negroes, or other Property" ended with an exchange of letters between the two, with Washington reiterating his concern regarding the embarkation of escaped slaves. Carleton responded, in kind, with a letter dated May 12, 1783. On what he called Washington's "surprise" about the evacuation and Washington's accusation that such action "was a measure totally different from the letter and spirit of the treaty," Carleton reminded Washington that the British set up a register "to serve as a record of the name of the original proprietor of the negro, and as a rule by which to judge of his value. By this open method of conducting business, I hoped to prevent all fraud."57 Further, alluding to both self-repossession and the Book of Negroes as a searchable database for the future tracking of those listed in it, Carleton suggested that "had these negroes been denied permission to embark they would, in spite of every means to prevent it, have found various methods of quitting this place, so that the former owner would no longer have been able to trace them, and of course would have lost, in every way, all chance of compensation." On the notion of black people as property, Carleton put it this way: "Every negroe's name is registered and the master he formerly belonged to, with such other circumstances as served to denote his value, that it may be adjusted by compensation, if that was really the intention and meaning of the treaty." Given this, American and British commissioners charged with receiving and settling claims were appointed to inspect all embarkations in order to prevent evasion of Article Seven. Because of this article, ships were visually inspected for people who could be taken or repossessed as property, or rather, repossessed as if they were property. And with this came the setting up of the arbitration hearings that took place at Fraunces Tavern. At the corner of Pearl and Broad Streets in lower Manhattan, Fraunces Tavern served as the center of arbitration, where almost every Wednesday from ten in the morning until two o'clock in the afternoon, from May through

balling disposition" that "defies the hegemony of racial supervision on its own terms" (141). Wallace is referring here, in part, to the references made in the file to Baldwin as "huge-eyed [if] undersized" (137). Also see my discussion in chapter 2 of ex-slave Sam and his "reckless eyeballing" that, in fact, was not so reckless, but an act of subversion.

125. Wallace, Constructing the Black Masculine, 141.

126. Glaser, *Bo-Tsotsi*. Glaser places the entry of the term "tsotsi" in township vocabulary at around 1943–1944, and as referring "to a style of narrow-bottomed trousers that became popular among African youth in the early 1940s. In American gangland slang, the narrow-bottomed pants were called 'zoot suits.' It is possible that the word tsotsi comes directly from the word 'zoot-suit,' with a pronunciation shift" (50). The term later gained connotations that associated "tsotsi aesthetic" with criminal gang activity.

127. Robin Rhode in "Robin Rhode and Catharina Manchanda in Conversation" in Manchanda, *Catch Air*, 19.

128. Bentham, The Works of Jeremy Bentham, vol. 4, 39. 129. hooks, Talking Back, 9.

2. "Everybody's Got a Little Light under the Sun"

- 1. After the race is complete, some scenes are reenacted with participants in order for the film crew to capture better footage. A secondary film crew is sent out during the race, to lessen the chance that sighting a full film crew will give the trackers an advantage over the prey. *Mantracker* has filmed episodes outside of Canada, including California and Hawaii, and began its seventh season in May 2012, without Terry Grant as Mantracker.
 - 2. Walcott, Black Like Who?, 14.
 - 3. Ibid., 48.
- 4. Coined by sociologist Thomas Mathiesen, "The Viewer Society," the synopticon, in counterpoint to the Panopticon (where the few watch the many), allows for the many to watch the few, often by way of mass media in a viewer society, for example, reality television watching.
- 5. In this act, "negro cloth" includes duffel, kersey, osnaburg, blue linen, check linen, checked cotton, Scotch plaids, calico, and other coarse and unrefined cloths "and declares all garments of finer or other kind, to be liable to seizure by any constable as forfeited."
- 6. This quote is taken from the pair's application video, in which contestant Al St. Louis states incredulously, "Two black men being chased by a white man on a horse?" While it could be said that St. Louis and Thompson are framed in this episode through a narrative of uplift, it could also be argued that a certain element of minstrelsy or hamming it up for the camera is engaged by the two: losing a defective compass and leaving Mantracker to find it; paying homage to another reality television program that also makes use of surveillance footage of evasion and capture, *Cops*, by singing the lyrics to its theme song, reggae band Inner Circle's 1993 hit "Bad Boys." In deleted scenes avail-

able on DVD, contestant Al is filmed singing a rendition of the Negro spiritual "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen" and alternately beatboxing "Go Down Moses."

- 7. Douglass, Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, 33.
- 8. A "breeder" or foundation document is used to support one's identity claims in the application process for a more secure status document, such as a passport. In our contemporary moment, breeder documents, such as birth certificates and in some cases baptismal certificates, are said to be more easily forged and weak in terms of security. See Salter, *Rights of Passage*.
 - 9. McKittrick, "'Their Blood Is There," 28.
 - 10. McKittrick, "Math Whips."
 - 11. Foucault, Psychiatric Power, 77.
 - 12. Marriot, On Black Men, 9.
 - 13. Sennett, Flesh and Stone, 80.
- 14. Now that the *Book of Negroes* is digitized and searchable online (http://www.blackloyalist.info/), it could be argued that this inventory bears some of the hallmarks of contemporary centralized traveler databases, complete with a "no-sail" list. For a detailed accounting of the inventory that is the *Book of Negroes*, see Hodges, *The Black Loyalist Directory*. Hodges's appendix includes tables, by colony and gender, of "All Negroes Who Claimed to Be Born Free," "All Negroes Who Claimed to Have Escaped," "All Negroes Who Were Free by Proclamation"—those who were indentured, enslaved, and emancipated.
- 15. For a longer discussion on the various watch lists, data collection practices, and programs in the regulation of airline travel and Canada-U.S. border crossings post-9/11, see Bennett, "What Happens When You Book an Airline Ticket?"
 - 16. Carby, "Becoming Modern Racialized Subjects," 625.
 - 17. Ibid., 627.
 - 18. Gilroy, The Black Atlantic, 16.
- 19. In Rights of Passage, Mark B. Salter names the modern international passport system as a post-World War I formation that was codified by the League of Nations in 1920 with the expressed purpose of securing state borders and economic trade that is deemed legitimate, restricting the movements of refugees, and controlling the spread of disease through quarantine, all while facilitating travel between nations. Salter lays out the development of the modern passport from the doctrine of ne exeat regno (the right of the sovereign to determine who can leave the realm), to the emergence of safe conduct passes for merchants in thirteenth-century Europe, letters of marque issued to privateers that authorized the use of violence on the high seas in the name of the sovereign, and the post-Westphalian state system that saw the sovereign's monopoly on the legitimate means of violence. Radhika Mongia, in "Race, Nationality, Mobility," sees the passport system as having a "checkered, piecemeal, and counterintuitive development" (527), and considers the role of Indian emigration to Canada in the early twentieth century in this formation. I situate the Book of Negroes as part of this checkered development of the passport regime, notably because it emerged when the United States of America gained independence from Britain and it was written into

the terms of peace. Given that prior to the *Book of Negroes* what would eventually become the United States was still a British holding, no other document could have served the same function—a written record of the right to pass freely out of the United States that noted identifiers such as gender, race, place of birth, and, importantly, corporeal markers like scarring.

20. On November 7, 1775, John Murray, the fourth Lord Dunmore and governor of Virginia, issued a proclamation that promised freedom for male slaves who voluntarily fought with British forces. After the defeat of his forces in Virginia, Murray arrived in New York City in the summer of 1776 to occupy the city, establishing its military headquarters there. With Dunmore's Proclamation, and later Howe's 1778 Proclamation, then Clinton's Philipsburg Proclamation in 1779, this guarantee was extended to women and children, bringing about the "largest black escape in the history of North American slavery," with fugitives estimated at 25,000 to 55,000 in the "southern states alone" (Hodges, *The Black Loyalist Directory*, xiv). Sir Henry Clinton served as commander in chief of all British forces of North America from May 1778 until February 1782, when Sir Guy Carleton took up the post. See also Schama, *Rough Crossings*, 132–135.

- 21. Pennsylvania Gazette, July 17, 1776, quoted from Schama, Rough Crossings, 77.
- 22. Anderson, Imagined Communities, 35.
- 23. Foote, Black and White Manhattan, 190.
- 24. Hall, "Missing Dolly, Mourning Slavery," 70.
- 25. Allsopp and Allsopp, Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage, 110.
- 26. Royal Gazette, New York, June 14, 1783.
- 27. Royal Gazette, New York, July 21, 1783.
- 28. New York Gazette, October 27, 1783.
- 29. Walke, "Thomas Walke's Account of Capturing His Runaway Slaves in New York City."
 - 30. Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," 5.
 - 31. Lyon, Surveillance Society, 51–53.
- 32. Iton, *In Search of the Black Fantastic*, 105. This term is also related to the performances that are often demanded and rendered necessary in dominant spaces (schooling, workplaces, the outdoors), so that minoritized peoples are not viewed as threatening to established norms.
 - 33. Ibid.
- 34. The descriptions in the *Book of Negroes* of those who left New York also gesture to the intimate relations within the black and indigenous populations: "born free, her mother an Indian" or "better half Indian." Many thanks to Sharon Holland for pointing out this connection. For detailed discussions of the events of 1712 and 1741 in New York City and their effects on the regulation of the city life of black subjects, see Doolen, *Fugitive Empire*; Lepore, *New York Burning*; Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery*; Burrows and Wallace, *A History of New York City to 1898*; Davis, *A Rumor of Revolt*. For seventeenthand early eighteenth-century laws regulating free and enslaved blacks, see Hodges, *Root and Branch*.

- 35. City of New York, Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1675–1776, vol. 3, 30.
 - 36. Ibid., vol. 4.
 - 37. Ibid., vol. 4, 51.
 - 38. Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 41.
 - 39. New York Weekly Journal, vol. 113, January 5, 1735.
 - 40. Ibid
 - 41. Hamilton, Gentleman's Progress, 88.
 - 42. McKittrick, Demonic Grounds, 124.
- 43. City of New York, Minutes of the Common Council of New York City 1784-1831, vol. 1.
- 44. "Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in Pennsylvania to His Friend in New York Dated March 24, 1784," New York Journal and State Gazette, April 15, 1784.
 - 45. Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, 19-20.
 - 46. Harris, In the Shadow of Slavery, 41.
- 47. Lott, Love and Theft, 46; McAllister, White People Do Not Know How to Behave, 113; White, "Pinkster," 69.
 - 48. McAllister, White People Do Not Know How to Behave, 112.
 - 49. Thomas De Voe, *The Market Book*, cited in Lott, *Love & Theft*, 41–42.
- 50. "Where Slaves Danced: Catharine Market's Rise and Decline," New York Times, April 28, 1889.
 - 51. Wynter, "Jonkonnu in Jamaica," 36.
 - 52. Ibid., 37.
 - 53. Ibid.
 - 54. Ibid., 36. See also Wynter, "The Ceremony Found."
 - 55. Wynter, "Jonkonnu in Jamaica," 36.
 - 56. Wynter, "The Ceremony Found."
 - 57. Carleton to Washington, May 12, 1783, in Carleton, Papers.
 - 58. Hodges, The Black Loyalist Directory, xviii.
- 59. Eilbeck's death notice in the *American Beacon and Commercial Diary*, August 4, 1817, stated, "he never withheld from the labourer the reward of his industry, while hundreds can attest his forbearance towards those even who were the most unworthy of his indulgence." Here it is assumed that Eilbeck's "forbearance" was toward the laborer that was paid, and not enslaved.
 - 60. Schama, Rough Crossings; Pybus, Epic Journeys of Freedom.
- 61. Lawrence Hill's *The Book of Negroes: A Novel*, has been adapted into a television miniseries that aired on Black Entertainment Television and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The part of Samuel Fraunces is played by actor Cuba Gooding Jr., a casting decision that, I think, leaves Fraunces's blackness unambiguous.
 - 62. Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," 7.
- 63. Hill, *The Book of Negroes*, 294. For the novel's release in the United States, Australia, and New Zealand, it is titled *Somebody Knows My Name*, as the publisher reasoned that "Negroes" in the book's original title could cause offense with some audiences. The